1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

631 grazing lands, belong to them, and they range from Shihr to
101 Seihut and up to the Manahil and Jabri. The Manahil country
619 lies to the north and east of them, and the 'Awābitha and Al Heik live to their west.

619 The tribe had a defensive and offensive alliance with the Kathīri, and were always a great source of trouble to the Qu'aiti. They were a byword for murder and robbery, owing to their systematic pillaging of travellers, until the Qu'aiti put an end to these activities by stringent measures some years ago. He now pays them an annual subsidy and has a " B " agreement with them and they
[489] have ceased to be troublesome. Since coming to heel the tribesmen regularly load goods from Shihr for Shibam, Seiyun and Tarim, and continually visit Shihr, Hami, Dis, Qus'eir and Reida. They are mainly nomads and own about 3,000 loading camels but no riding animals.

They are the worst enemies of the Seibani, with whom they are continually at war: Inter-tribal feuds exist between several of their own clans, but all unite in the face of a common foe under the leadership of the Beit 'Ali clan, whose chief, 'Ali bin Salim Habrish, lives at Gheil Bā Yamīn and Wadi 'Arf and is the
[623] *Muqaddam* of the Zei. A " Council of Elders " is summoned at Gheil Bā Yamīn to decide matters of tribal importance, and the tribesmen of the various clans offer their rifles to prove their goodwill in acceptance of the decision of the Elders. The Mansabs of the tribe are Muhammad bin Muhammad, 'Abdul Bari, and Hussein 'Abdulla al Isma'il of the Āl 'Aidarus, but the Bā Shamakha clan are under the influence of 'Abdur Rahman bin 'Abdulla and 'Abdul Qadir Āl Shibab of the Āl as Saqqaf. These Mansabs interfere in cases of serious tribal disputes or for the accomplishment of truces between fighting clans or tribes.

631 The clans of the Hamumi live in two districts, Al Ma'rab (the
101 Western) which is the smaller district and is situated to the North
619 of Shihr, and Al Mashqās (the Eastern) which lies to the North East of Shihr. The Bahasan at Tanbūl and the Yamīni are the clans living in Al Ma'rab, but also included in the district are their allies the Sha'āmila, the Bā Habān, and the Meseilīyin. The Yamīni, who are allied to the Seibani and live under their pro-
[249] tection, possess 200 camels, and the Bahasan own 100. The latter cultivate *tanbuli* leaf, which is chewed by the people of Shihr and Mukalla, and they have accordingly been nicknamed " at Tanbuli " The Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with them.

The other clans mentioned in the list live in the district of Al Mashqās, consisting of deserts, fields, and wadis. From the Sa'idi to the Seiyids of Beit Hamūda inclusive the clans have a special system and their chief is the head of the Beit 'Ali. From the Beit Ghatnīn to the 'Udūl inclusive all the clans have their own

* [Hamumi Zei -- Analyst] § [See p. 92, category 116 -- Analyst]

313 camels. The difficulty is being got over to some extent by experiments in
333 making reinforced-concrete pillars, of which we saw two in construction at
353 Seyyun. All the work is done by local labour, the travelled Seyyids training their masons. The interior walls of these houses, apart from elaborate decorations such as gold crowns and coloured flowers, consist of a lime plaster polished by smooth pieces of flint till it resembles marble.

861 Shibam is remarkable for the height of its houses. The town, which is in
342 the shape of a capital D, contains in a small area five hundred houses built on
483 a slight eminence in the wadi. From a short distance the whole town appears to be one enormous brown mud-built construction with a whitewashed top storey and roof. There is no further building room in the town, and the only way to have a new house is to buy an old one, knock it down, and rebuild.

344 The area of land required to build a house 45 *dhirras* in width by 35 in depth (a *dhirra*, or cubit, equals 1·5 foot) will cost 10,000 dollars, and having acquired the land the prospective builder will have to submit the specifications of his house for the approval of a committee of the townspeople who consider the position of windows and of gut[illegible]s carrying water to the street. Subsequent alterations to a house must also be similarly approved. By general consent houses in Shibam are not now to be built more than six storeys high, in order to avoid overlooking. The only important existing exception to this rule is the Government palace, which is a storey or two higher but which is in such a position that it overlooks very little. On the top of the six storeys the builder may however erect a roofless seventh which gives him a walled-in roof terrace. The building of this house, which, when completed, will be 64 *dhirras* or 96 feet high, will cost more than 20,000 dollars.

333 The foundations are dug 2 *dhirras* deep below the surface of the earth and
342 3 *dhirras* wide. Stones are used for the foundation mortared together with a mixture of wood ash and lime. In places where there is any doubt as to the solidity of the ground on which the house is to stand long pieces of *'elb* wood are laid in pairs lengthwise in the foundations. Wood for this purpose must be cut in the winter; if this is done it is said never to rot. The stone foundation or *sās* is continued for 2 *dhirras* above the level of the ground. When the building operations have reached this stage a foundation sacrifice of a goat or sheep is made on the walls. The house is centred round a solid pillar built on the same foundation as the walls. For a house of the dimensions proposed this pillar or *'arus el beit* will be $3\frac{1}{2}$ by 3 *dhirras* wide and of the same thickness from top to bottom. The stairs of the house invariably go up round the *'arus*. The bricks are made of clay mixed with straw, the standard size being $1\frac{1}{4}$ *dhirras* in length by $\frac{2}{3}$ in breadth by 4 *banan* or fingers' widths in thickness. When the clay of the required consistency and thickness for making the bricks has been laid out they are cut out by a wooden frame which makes two bricks
[435] at a time. The bricks cost five dollars a thousand.

The thickness of the walls of the first storey is $1\frac{3}{4}$ *dhirras*, of the second $1\frac{1}{2}$, of the third $1\frac{1}{4}$, of the fourth 1 *dhirra*, of the fifth $\frac{3}{4}$, of the sixth $\frac{5}{8}$, and of the seventh $\frac{1}{2}$ a *dhirra*. The bricks are mortared together with wet clay. As *'elb* wood grows to no great length the size of the room is determined to some
[435] extent by the length of the pieces available as girders. The girders are usually very short and supported by carved pillars each costing about twenty dollars.

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

To-day the territory is occupied by the descendants of the ancient people and split into many independent tribes. These tribes are all endogamous and are markedly distinct in appearance. But scientifically it would be difficult to name the distinctions, as they are all of the same race type. There is, however, a sufficiently marked distinction between the two main types to attract the attention of the casual, but interested, visitor to the country. These types are to be distinguished by their own local names, the Yemeni and the Mushreqi, the latter name coming from the ill-defined district of the Mushreq, which applies to the territories east of Yemen proper and does not include the tribes east of the Kathiri of Wadi Hadhramaut.

The Yemeni type are those bearing Sabaean names and Qatabanian names. These remain to be classified from names in inscriptions. It is sufficient to quote such names as Yafa', Qateib and Beni Saba.

Yafa' was the name of an ancient tribal deity, the centre of whose worship seems to have been the ruin of Am'Adia, in what is now the territory of the Audhali confederation, a very recent confederation of tribes. Yafa''s followers had a mausoleum at the holy city of Shabwa. They are now represented by the tribe of Yafa', one of the most eastern of the Yemeni tribes.

Qateib is the diminutive of Qatab, and we may translate it as the "remnant of Qatab." The present Qateibi tribes—"the wolves of Radfan," as they style themselves—form the centre of the war-like Ja'ud confederacy some sixty miles north-east of Aden; Beni Saba, Beni Himyar, etc., need no explanation. The Mushreq type bear un-Yemeni names. The centre of the whole type is the 'Aulaqi confederation. The word "'Aulaqi" is derived from "'alq," the spark of a camp-fire, and has little interest. But the confederation is ruled by the tribe of Ma'an and the "Grand Council of Ma'an" is called to this day when any one of the three chiefs of the confederation is to be elected. Of this type are all tribes east of the Yafa'i border and of the Eastern Yemen plateau.

In colour of skin, a light chocolate-brown, and in hair, both types are very similar, but there the similarity ends. In features, as in dress and in many customs which do not concern my subject, they are distinct from one another.

The tribesman class is the aristocratic, landowning class, and has been so for many centuries. They form 70 per cent. of the total population of the territory. All inter-tribal politics emanate from them. They form the background of the community's life. I have mentioned this class first for several reasons, but principally because we are used to a landowning aristocracy being in a minority. Here they form the majority. Having been for so many years controllers of their own destinies, the one landowning, fighting class and by far the most powerful class in the community, their insistence upon their rights to-day is understandable.

The tribal Chiefs are in three main categories—the appointed Suzerain, the accepted Suzerain and the elected hereditary tribal Chief. It will be simplest to deal with these three types of Chief in turn, giving examples of each.

In the first type, the appointed Suzerains, we can take as examples H.H. the Sultan of Lahej and the Amir of Dhala'.

8· Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

YEMENMLI

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IS THE NAME OF A MAN DEITY AND IN THE ABSENCE,

Y 101 174 778 622 of histories, we may take it that the confederation is pre-Islamic in date. Apart from the name, the only other obviously pre-Islamic possession of the tribe is the sacred drum, the "Tabble an Nahas," which is kept by the Beni Qasid and which is accorded sacred honours by the tribe of Yafa' only. It is possible that before Islam the Beni Qasid were the keepers of the drum, and I am going to suggest that the present Sultans of Yafa' are in reality Priest-Chiefs, whose functions as such have ceased with the introduction of a new religion, although their hereditary position remains as heads of the people who once worshipped Yafa'.

H 101 619 622 Let us examine another confederation of tribes. About sixty miles north of Aden live the Qateibi tribe, surrounded by the confederation of the Ja'ud. At first sight the tribes here seem to be disorganized and unrelated, but careful study of dialect, of local stories, of the Qasidas or epic poems, and of such things as star lore and magical beliefs, shows that these tribes are closely allied in thought, dialect and custom and form a true confederation, the organization of which becomes clear in times of danger. Of this confederation the Qateibi are the central tribe, and their sheikhly family is the Akhram, from which the Qateibi Sheikh is elected. As was shown in 1904, a Qateibi Sheikh with a strong personality can have considerable influence on the whole confederation, but he is not expected to rule, as we understand the word, even within his own family.

H 619 [623] 174 622 With the strong 'Aulaqi Confederation we find a more complicated organization, but a similar one. Ma'an is here the central tribe, in all probability the ancient Ma'an of the inscriptions, a pre-Sabian kingdom of South Arabia. Ancient Ma'an was ruled by a "Grand Council," as we find from the inscriptions, and this system still exists to-day.

The 'Aulaqi Confederation is divided into three parts—the Upper and Lower sub-Confederations of attached tribes and the tribe of Ma'an—and each of these three is ruled by a Chief of the tribe of Ma'an, elected by Ma'an only. Again we have the sheikhly family within the central tribe, surrounded by the attached tribes of the confederation. Again the name, but this time it is the name of the central tribe, is pre-Islamic. If we look [671] for further proof that the confederation is of pre-Islamic origin, we find an ancient legal system—that of the Manaqid, which I have already described—strongly attached to it.

H 619 We could continue to find examples of the organization from other confederations, but these three will suffice. The basis of the organization is clear: there is a central tribe containing a sheikhly family, forming the centre of a confederation of tribes.

H 174 Y 643 How did such an organization evolve? How is it that Chiefs, elected according to ancient custom, are not expected to rule their electors? What is the origin of such Chiefs, and of the sheikhly families from which they come? Our answers must be mainly guesswork, but we may well begin by seeing some of the conditions under which an Imam of Sana'a is elected, for I think they point the way to our understanding of the whole problem.

The first condition is that the Imam must be whole in body. No Imam may be elected if he limps, is blind in one or both eyes, has a stammer, squints, is a leper or has any other physical disabilities. If, once

6x Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
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as far as I know, nothing written to define their position, but it is accepted that they can only use their position to influence their tribesmen, and that the rule of the tribe is that of the tribal council, which is drawn from all the heads of tribe and family, and is influenced by all strong personalities within the tribe as well as by the holy classes—the Seyyids and descendants of saints. The strength of rule which the Chief can impose depends, therefore, on how much he can influence the influential. By his own position he is not a ruler; he is a figurehead; and if his ancestors at one time could inspire respect and fear through their magical powers, he inspires neither, except through his own personality. By a reluctance to enforce his rule, even when he is assisted to do so, he shows that in some vague way he appreciates his peculiar hereditary position. Until the official understands this he will live in wonderland, where the Chief he wishes to assist blandly gives Government arms away to his enemies and then returns to demand equality of force with them and the assistance of aircraft to defend himself. But the official is dealing with the older thing, with a type of community which long ago ceased to have meaning or motive, but has preserved the ancient forms of its pagan birth.

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It is notable that the Imam does not attempt to rule the Yemen through hereditary tribal Chiefs. He rules, as his ancestors did, through appointed Governors of provinces, and these provinces often disregard tribal areas. It may be that the Yemen progressed beyond the Priest-Chief state of rule in the days of the kingdoms and under a succession of Governors never returned to it. I do not myself believe that the Mushreq has ever known other than tribal life and the rule of tribal councils and public opinion from the days of the Grand Council of Ma'an to the present day. The Yemeni parts of the Protectorate which are under Suzerains are governed after the Yemeni autocratic model. Here the tribal figurehead counts for very little, unless he is a strong personality and a favourite of the Suzerain. But the figurehead is still there for all the centuries of " foreign " rule.

It would seem that it is usual for the rule of Priest-Chiefs to be followed by that of tyrants. Perhaps it is that as trade develops some firmer kind of rule is needed than a vaguely conservative council under a Priest-Chief. The church, as it were, cannot keep the functions of the state. When it can it tries to endow every activity of the individual with a magical colour. It usually succeeds. But in South Arabia the religion was violently changed by a militant Christianity and after a few centuries by a militant Islam, and in the place of the old order, under which each man worshipped his tribal god, there came the new order of the conqueror and his appointed Governors. In this small strip of Arabia we are fortunate to be able to study both these types of rule as they react to contact with the modern world.

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Almost the whole world has been through the phase of passing from the rule of the Priest-King to that of the tyrant, and we are no exception. It would almost seem to be a necessary growing pain for the people to first be ruled by autocrats before they rule themselves. But it would be interesting, to us who have passed through this phase and who see ourselves on the frontiers of the wider democracy of our age, to dispense with this phase and to at once develop a government of truly democratic form

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

and here we stopped on our first journey up, dispossessing a large band of monkeys. This was the first time I had seen them so far east, though we have often seen them north of Aden. As a matter of fact, one rarely meets mammals apart from gazelles and foxes in the Hadhramaut, though lately I was offered a hyena pup in Tarim, and there are wolves, ibex, and oryx. Others prefer for lunch at Reida a house not far away, where if you give an order in advance you can obtain quite well-boiled rice and boiled meat. Our superior friends in the Hadhramaut have named the place Shepheards, principally I think because you are always overcharged there. The first time we passed through the village somebody asked my wife for medicine and was given Epsom Salts. Crowds then came out and stretched forth supplicating hands which were all filled and in this way a pound or two was distributed, but there has never been any ill-feeling about it and relations with the tribe have been uniformly friendly. They have a large tree which is known as the Sanctuary, and under it all the important tribal conferences are held. Here I sat with the elders on a subsequent visit and they signed the general Hadhramaut three-years' truce.

A little beyond Reida you pass into Kathiri territory belonging to the Al Jabir, and the road passes near Risib, where there is a landing-ground. The people of Risib have had a very bad reputation for caravan looting and holding up cars; indeed they fired on cars before ever we came into the country. They were punished for an offence of this nature and are now genuinely among our best friends. My wife and I have stayed with them at their invitation and they entertained us lavishly in their simple way. They told me that they had always believed themselves to be under the protection of the Sultan of Turkey; now their only request is to be helped to find water, and I very much hope that before long it will be possible to help them, as they depend entirely on rain-water and when their pools dry up they have to leave their homes and wander away with their stock elsewhere.

The last sign of permanent life on this road is a little beyond Risib at Heru, where there are a few Sheikhs who have some popular water-holes which last longer than most others on the road and are generally much surrounded with stock. It was a wonderful sight near Heru last year after the heavy rains to see the shallow wadi green from side to side, winding away in each direction apparently fully cultivated. The people never cease to talk of the blessing of peace through which they are able to cultivate far more than they were before, and those heavy rains are universally attributed to the mercy of God manifested as a reward for the peace.

From Heru to Tarim takes four hours and the road is absolutely desolate. Caravans follow a wadi route into the Wadi 'Adim where there is water, for there is not a drop to be had on the route that the cars have to follow, and of course it is usually on this part of the road that one has breakdowns.

I arrived at Tarim at 8.15 in the morning. The *'aqaba* leading down to Tarim is one of the most remarkable engineering constructions in the world. People who know say that no European engineer would attempt it. It consists principally of hairpin bends which you have to reverse to get round, and parts of it have gradients of about 1 in 3 or 4. If you fire a rifle at the top of the *'aqaba* it lets Tarim know you are coming and the whole place troops OUT TO MEET YOU.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

a passage, opening onto roof-terraces where, at this time of the day, one is conscious of a breeze. The old blind Bā Ṣurra sits there surrounded by his counsellors and the chiefs of the allied Bedouin tribes. Bā Ṣurra rises with difficulty and gropes his way forward in order to greet us. He is a stately figure with a long, white beard, and his mind is still active and his voice clear. We are very tired and warm, and gratefully enjoy the small cups of bitter coffee and the endless glasses of hot, sweet tea which succeed them. The young slave, who makes the tea in a samovar, asks whether we wish for Ceylon or Java tea. Lumps are broken off a sugar loaf with iron pincers and are dropped into the glasses. Afterwards we are offered dates and tinned pine-apple. Bā Ṣurra gives us the choice between lodging in the castle or in a house in the town. We decide upon the latter and go there in procession, accompanied by soldiers and by grandsons and grand-nephews of the *Ḥākim.*[1]

The house is five storeys high and stands at the edge of the village of ʿOra, and from our roof we look down upon the crowns of date-palms. Our quarters are uninhabited and clean; Bā Ṣurra has had carpets laid in the room, which we share with Sayyid ʿAluwī. All our hangers-on follow us upstairs and remain to watch and see what wonderful things emerge from our luggage. The fine, clever-looking descendants of the Governor put many questions to us and tell us much, and seem to be quite comfortable in the packed and stuffily hot room. It is with difficulty that we get rid of the crowd. The boys help in this, but, having accomplished it, do not dream of taking their own departure! They only stroll off at last under the promise that they may return in a couple of hours' time.

After the lapse of an hour three little boys come and will not be denied; they have an urgent message for us, they say, and with self-assurance they relate that their father has the

[1] *Ḥākim* (حاكم), governor, magistrate.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

622 At the castle we found Bā Ṣurra again seated between two
623 sons, in the midst of his counsellors and the Bedouin chiefs;
162 there are also present some soldiers somewhat in the background, the grandsons and other offspring in our vicinity, and the slave who makes the tea.

The old *Ḥākim* and his family are photographed in a large group on the terrace close to the *madjlis*. Then begin long conversations in which our endless questions are patiently answered. Bā Ṣurra himself tells us that the whole of Wādī Dōᶜan and its tributary, Wādī el-Ēsar, are under his jurisdiction. In about fifty villages there are 20.000 inhabi-
871 tants. There are only two small schools, both of them founded and maintained by that remarkable sayyid of Terīm, Abū Bakr bin Shēkh el-Kāf. It is certainly extraordinary that this leading personage of the Āl Kathīr district should be the founder and supporter of most of the schools in the territory of el-Qeᶜēṭī. Many of the schools in Makalla and esh-Shiḥr are also due to el-Kāf's generosity. Khurēba, the old centre of Wādī Dōᶜan, has a school with seventy to eighty pupils, and the other is in Qēdūn, with from twenty to fifty pupils.

346 There are in Bā Ṣurra's province nearly 200 mosques, some
167 among them very fine ones, which are often the property of
556 rich sayyids and connected with their houses. The fortunes of these rich men are always made in foreign lands. Every district of Ḥaḍramaut has its own particular countries to which its people emigrate in swarms to make money; from Wādī Dōᶜan they go to Abyssinia, the coast towns of the Red Sea, and the coast of East Africa. Barely a hundred have gone out from here to Java, though from Wādī el-Ēsar, on the other hand, quite 500 have done so.

162 There are also 1500 Bedouins under Bā Ṣurra's jurisdiction,
622 among them the whole Sēbān tribe from the Qibla region (*i. e.* from the North). The chief of the Deyyin tribe, ᶜUthmān bin Muḥammad el-ᶜAmūdī, the ruler in Rēdet ed-Deyyin, is